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Stereotype conformity in gay people and the homosexual identity development process.

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STEREOTYPE CONFORMITY IN GAY PEOPLE AND THE HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

A Thesis Presented

by

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DEDICATION

To my mother, Arlene, and my father, John, who give me their unconditional love and support and have always allowed me to follow my heart.

To my partner, Steve, who brings such joy and fulfillment into my life.

To my uncle Bill and my aunt Barbara; for very different reasons, I wish they had both lived to share this accomplishment.

To Matthew Shepard and the countless other gay and lesbian people who suffered for expressing their sexual identities.

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ABSTRACT

STEREOTYPE CONFORMITY IN GAY PEOPLE AND THE HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

MAY 1999

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This study investigated the association of gay identity development in gay and lesbian people with higher levels of conformity to sociocultural stereotypes of gay people as sex-atypical. Participants completed a mail-in questionnaire that assessed their sexual orientation, level of gay identity development, and ratings of themselves and of a "typical" same-sex gay target on measures of sex typing in the domains of personality traits, role behaviors, physical appearance, and occupational suitability. It was expected that all participants would hold similar stereotypes of same-sex gay targets as sex-atypical, and that more highly gay-identified groups would rate themselves as nearer to those sex-atypical stereotypes. Participants in all sexual-identity groups rated a same-sex gay target as sex-atypical, as expected, and more highly gay-identified women rated themselves as more masculine in all domains. More highly gay-identified men rated themselves less masculine in occupational suitability only; in the other domains, no association of self-ratings with sexual identity was found for men. These findings provide some support for the hypothesis that stereotype conformity is associated with gay identity development.

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INTRODUCTION

Steve is an interior decorator and part-time hairdresser. He has a strong artistic flair and enjoys making his environment, himself, and other people look beautiful. Steve is soft-spoken with a slight lisp, very emotional, and given to wearing tightly-fitting designer clothing and flashy jewelry. He spends his leisure time baking, attending theatrical events, and chatting on the phone with his many female friends.

Barbara is a state trooper who moonlights as a roadhouse bouncer. She is very aggressive and frequently becomes entangled in arguments and fistfights. Barbara is loud, dominating, and blunt. She sports a crewcut and usually wears heavy flannel shirts, Dickies workpants, and military boots. She spends her weekends watching professional wrestling, hunting for deer, and re-roofing her neighbor's barn.

Sex Atypicality in Gay People

Most people are familiar with the mainstream stereotypes of gay and lesbian people. Research on beliefs about gay people[1] repeatedly reveals that they are stereotypically regarded as violating gender norms in multiple domains, such as in appearance and mannerisms, interests, roles, and occupations. Gay men have been shown to be stereotyped as, for example, emotional, weak, and submissive (Weissbach and Zagon, 1975), gentle, passive, theatrical, and clothes-conscious (Gurwitz and Marcus, 1978), or neat, artistic, tactful, and lacking business skills (Taylor, 1983). Lesbians seem

[1] There is some disagreement among gay and lesbian scholars as to the appropriate labels for people with same-sex sexual orientations. Many prefer to use the terms *gay male* for men and *lesbian* for women, and I follow this convention when referring to people of a particular sex. However, in the interest of balanced representation and parsimonious terminology, I use the term *gay person* when referring to both men and women with same-sex sexual orientations. This usage seems more consistent with terms such as *gay identity* and *gay community,* in that differentiation by sex is not indicated when it does not contribute substantial meaning.

to be stereotyped as similarly sex-atypical, although research on the specific content of stereotypes of lesbians is sparse (Shively, Rudolph, and De Cecco, 1978). Social sex-role stereotypes and stereotypes of gay and lesbian people appear to be largely confounded, such that gay men are ascribed the traits, roles, and behaviors normally attributed to heterosexual women, and lesbians are similarly seen as conforming to stereotypical heterosexual male traits and behaviors (Shively, Rudolph, and De Cecco, 1978).

While there seems to be some agreement on beliefs about sex-atypical traits and behaviors in gay people, research on the veracity of such beliefs has led to differing conclusions. Harrison (1993) observes that, contrary to popular belief, gay male appearance and behavior ranges from excessively feminine through exaggeratedly hypermasculine. Such diversity of sex-role behavior in the gay community is reflected in that subculture's parlance. Gay people commonly use such descriptors as *butch* or *femme* to categorize themselves and other gay people (Rosenzweig and Lebow, 1992), and may speak of gay men as *bears* or *queens* and lesbians as *bulldaggers* or *lipstick lesbians* (Ford, 1996).

Empirical studies that tested the stereotypes of sex-atypicality in gay people have been inconclusive. Most of these have used self-ratings on gender identity scales including, for example, the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1974) and the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (Spence, Helmreich, and Stapp, 1975). Several of these studies have found significant but small tendencies for gay men to score higher in femininity than heterosexual men (Freund, Nagler, Langevin, Zajac, and Steiner, 1974; Heilbrun and Thompson, 1977; Hooberman, 1979; Schatzberg, Blumetti, Westfall, and Birk, 1975). Some studies found that gay men scored significantly lower in masculinity than

heterosexual men in addition to scoring higher in femininity (Heilbrun and Thompson, 1977; Hooberman, 1979), while other similar studies have found no difference between gay men and heterosexual men in their femininity and masculinity scores (McDonald and Moore, 1978; Jones and De Cecco, 1982; Stokes, Kilmann, and Wanlass, 1983).

Similar studies of sex-atypicality in lesbians have been equally inconclusive. Some found higher masculinity among lesbians compared to heterosexual women (Oberstone and Sukonek, 1976; Oldham, Farnill, and Ball, 1982; LaTorre and Wendenberg, 1983; Findlay and Scheltema, 1991), and others have found no difference between lesbians and heterosexual women on measures of masculinity and femininity (Jones and De Cecco, 1982; Stokes, Kilmann, and Wanlass, 1983).

It appears that some studies have been able to detect a "kernel of truth" to the stereotype of gay people as sex-atypical, but that the difference between gay people and their heterosexual counterparts, if there is one, is small and the detection of it is unreliable. Several authors have pointed to well-known difficulties in obtaining gay samples as a likely cause of these disparate results. Finlay and Scheltema (1991), for example, mentioned that their sample and other samples of gay populations could not be assumed as representative. Stokes, Kilmann, and Wanlass (1983) elucidated further, suggesting that at least one researcher who found sex-atypicality had sampled gay people who were more forthright about their sexual orientation, while other researchers (including themselves) who found no difference between gay and heterosexual people tended to make greater efforts to obtain representative gay samples, and in so doing obtained more gay subjects who were not openly gay.

Stokes *et al.* (1983) thus implied that sex-atypicality in gay people is associated with the degree to which each gay person expresses a gay identity, such that gay people who identify more strongly as such may be most likely to be sex-atypical, and those who identify only weakly or not at all as gay may be more indistinguishable from their heterosexual counterparts. While not yet supported by empirical findings, this supposition does have intuitive appeal. More importantly, such a relationship is suggested by theoretical models of gay identity formation and development.

Gay Identity Development

The Cass model of gay identity development (1979) posits a six-stage process in which people progress through a series of developmental changes marked by certain common experiences. Each stage may be distinguished by the preponderant presence of particular cognitions, emotions, and behaviors. Prior to beginning the gay identity development process, non-identified gay people consider themselves heterosexual insofar as they do not perceive themselves as different from the heterosexual others they know, and they have not questioned their own and others' assumptions that they too are heterosexual. In the first stage, Identity Confusion, gay people perceive some combination of thoughts, feelings, and behaviors in themselves that they label as homosexual and, for the first time, they begin to have doubts and confusion about their sexual identity; they do not, however, identify as gay but instead believe themselves to be heterosexual.

The second stage, Identity Comparison, is marked by the acceptance of a potential homosexual orientation and an associated sense of alienation. People in this stage are realizing more clearly how they differ from heterosexual others, and those who do not

experience such severe alienation that they foreclose at this stage (fail to develop further) eventually progress to the third stage, Identity Tolerance.

People in the Identity Tolerance stage possess a tolerance (but not acceptance) of their developing gay identity, and actively seek contact with other gay people. They still maintain a heterosexual public image; that is, they are "closeted." They reveal their developing gay identity only in the private company of other gay people. If the quality of these contacts with other gay people is poor, identity foreclosure may occur at this stage. Increased positive contact with other gay people and association with the gay community marks the transition into the fourth stage, Identity Acceptance.

People in the Identity Acceptance stage have acquired a positive view of homosexuality and have resolved issues of identity confusion. They pursue what may be called a "gay lifestyle" in that they maintain a network of gay friends, attend gay events, and have gay relationships, although they maintain a strategy of keeping their gay identity private and presenting themselves as heterosexual for much of their daily lives. Disclosure of their gay identity is made selectively to those close friends and relatives who are perceived as most likely to be receptive. The fear of social stigma and other negative reactions to their gay identity still plagues people in this stage. Identity foreclosure occurs in this stage when people are comfortably able to maintain separate public and private identities, avoid confrontation, and accept their stigmatized status.

Those who are unwilling to accept second-class citizen status progress to the fifth stage, Identity Pride. People in this stage experience feelings of pride in their gay identity and loyalty to gay people as a group. They become wary of heterosexual people, angered about their own stigmatization, and increasingly open and confrontational about their gay

identity. This is a time when the gay person's gay identity and the expression of that identity take on superordinate importance.

The sixth and final stage, Identity Synthesis, emerges if contacts with heterosexuals remain positive despite the confrontational period of Identity Pride. It is marked by the realization that one's gay identity is not necessarily the defining element of one's character. Public and private selves are fully integrated, such that one's gay identity is not at all hidden but also no longer emphasized in emotional terms. Those who attain this final stage have completed the gay identity development process.

Troiden (1993) points out that nearly all models of gay identity development, including his own and the Cass model, include stigma as an important variable in determining the path of gay identity development and include increasing acceptance of the self as homosexual with an associated increasing desire to disclose that orientation and associate with similar others. Troiden's four-stage model parallels the six-stage Cass model, but Troiden combines Cass's Identity Tolerance and Identity Acceptance stages into a single stage which he calls Identity Assumption, and he considers Cass's Identity Pride stage as one of many possible stigma management strategies, but not a necessary stage of gay identity development.

Troiden gives particular emphasis to the roles of early identity confusion, stigma, and appropriate role models in the development of a gay identity. Identity confusion is a necessary consequence of not realizing one's homosexual orientation until adolescence, and is particularly relevant because non-identified gay people have opportunity to absorb distorted and negative impressions of gay people as a group from mainstream culture before realizing that they themselves are gay. Troiden agrees with Cass that contact with

other gay people is a critical part of positive gay identity formation, but further points out that stigma and misinformation may impede the ability of non-identified gay people to identify as gay and to associate with other gay people (see also Plummer, 1975). Troiden (1993) emphasizes that appropriate gay role models are necessary for the gay person with a developing gay identity to learn "the range of identities and roles available to homosexuals; and . . . the norms governing homosexual conduct" (p. 206).

Sociocultural Gay Stereotypes and Gay Identity Development

Both the Cass and Troiden models of gay identity development allow sociocultural gay stereotypes to play a significant role in the process and thus predict that increasingly developed gay identity should be associated with increased stereotypical sex-atypical traits and behaviors for several reasons. Before they even begin the gay identity development process, non-identified gay people are exposed to the sociocultural stereotype of gay people and may easily acquire the notion that gay people—an outgroup at this stage—are sex-atypical in their traits and behaviors (Troiden, 1993). Their earliest ideas of "what it means to be gay" may thus be based squarely on sociocultural stereotypes rather than on appropriate and accurate role models.

Normal variability of individual differences in masculinity and femininity leads some non-identified gay people to be more sex-atypical than others when entering the identity development process. Those gay people who thus begin the process already conforming to the stereotype of a gay person may be able to complete the Identity Confusion stage much more rapidly than those whose traits and behaviors contradict their stereotyped ideas of gay people (Harry, 1982; Troiden, 1993). The entire gay identity

development process may thus proceed more rapidly for those gay people who are initially more stereotype conforming.

People who are developing a gay identity (newly-identified) are trying to formulate a sense of what it means to be gay and to make themselves open to association with other gay people. It seems reasonable that they might, from lack of other information about how to "be gay," adopt elements of sociocultural stereotypes of gay people as their own and begin to emulate in certain ways the stereotypical social prototype of a generalized same-sex "gay person" as communicated by media resources, rumor, and so forth (Storms, 1978). They may be particularly inclined to do this during the Identity Tolerance stage, when they are motivated to seek out other gay people, as a strategy for attracting those gay people who may be present in their environments.

People in Cass's Identity Tolerance or Troiden's Identity Assumption stage are characterized by a sense of self as gay but a lack of information about what that identity means. Contact with other gay people is the primary vehicle for information acquisition, but gay role models are not likely to be readily available. Most gay people do not live in homosexual families as, for example, Black people live in Black families. Stigma and fear of negative reactions may discourage newly-identified gay people from making overt attempts to network with other gay people; initial contacts may thus be made with the most conveniently available gay people and with those whom the newly-identified gay person can be most confident are in fact gay. As Storms (1978) points out, stereotypical gay behavior may have predictive utility, in that it allows people to recognize others as gay. A newly-identified gay person may thus tend to associate first with other gay people who fit their earlier-acquired stereotype, as such stereotypical gay people may simply be

most salient and may also be perceived as less risky to approach and to take into confidence. These early associations may serve to confirm some of the stereotyped notions about gay people that the newly-identified gay person may have acquired before entering the identity development process (when non-identified).

Some newly-identified gay people will respond more positively to initial contacts with highly stereotypical gay people than other newly-identified gay people will. There may be numerous person variables—such as rigidity of adherence to sex role norms (Dunbar, Brown, & Amoroso, 1973)—that lead certain newly-identified gay people to be more receptive toward and accepting of highly stereotyped gay others. It seems reasonable that those newly-identified gay people who already possess stereotyped inclinations would be most similar to and thus also receptive to stereotyped gay others (and have that receptivity reciprocated), while the more heterosexual-conforming (and perhaps more internally homophobic) newly-identified gay people might be less receptive to and less well-received by stereotypical gay others. If newly-identified gay people of any persuasion in Cass's Identity Tolerance stage will tend to look for and reach out to stereotyped gay others as their first gay contacts, it seems likely that newly-identified gay people who are already somewhat stereotype-conforming will be more likely to have this initial contact be a positive experience. The quality of these initial experiences is a critical variable determining whether progression to more advanced stages of identity development will occur (Cass, 1979; Troiden, 1993). Thus, newly-identified gay people who are least stereotype conforming may not only have a disadvantage in working through the Identity Confusion stage, but may even be more likely to reject a gay identity

as undesirable and simply foreclose on the entire process somewhere at or before the Identity Tolerance stage.

Research on liking for gay men has revealed that people express greater liking for feminine gay men than for masculine gay men (Bickford and Stallworth, 1999; Storms, 1978). Such differential liking may motivate men who are beginning to express a gay identity openly to do so in a more stereotypical fashion in order to be better liked and accepted. Gay men who are stereotype conforming may find identity expression to be a relatively positive experience, while gay men who are nonconforming may experience more hostility and resistance when first expressing their gay identities.

Thus it may be that newly-identified gay people subscribe to the mainstream sociocultural stereotypes of gay people that they learned when non-identified. Those who are most naturally conforming to these stereotypes might experience less identity confusion when first confronting their gay feelings. In trying to "become more gay," these newly-identified gay people might also "try on" different elements of these mainstream stereotypes, perhaps partially in an attempt to attract the attention of other gay people in their environments. Furthermore, if these newly-identified gay people hold stereotypical expectations for their interactions with other gay people, they may then specifically seek out (or only notice) those gay people who most conform to sociocultural stereotypes, thus confirming the stereotypes by selective attention. These stereotypical initial contacts may then inform and shape the newly-identified gay people's developing and malleable gay identities (Cass, 1979; Troiden, 1993). Some newly-identified gay people may find this confirmed stereotypicality so aversive and antithetical to their previously defined self-concepts that, as a result of such negative experience with initial

gay contact, they fail to progress any further in the development of their gay identities and may develop internalized homophobia, self-hatred, and despair (Troiden, 1993). Other newly-identified gay people may accept this same stereotypicality and progress to more advanced stages of gay identity development. If newly-identified gay people use mainstream stereotypes to help formulate their own gay identities in this fashion, and if the identity development process proceeds more easily for stereotype-conforming gay people, then it follows that increasingly developed gay identity may be associated with greater sex-atypicality.

Self-Stereotyping and Gay Identity Development

Following this same line of reasoning, if non-identified gay people are just as susceptible to misinformation about gay people as nongay people are, and if elements of sociocultural stereotypes actually play a role in defining people's developing gay identities, then the gay stereotypes of newly-identified gay people should closely resemble the gay stereotypes of nongay people. Some research has found indications that this may indeed be the case. In a study of stereotyping and self-stereotyping of heterosexual and gay men, Simon *et al.* (1991) found that the self-stereotypes of gay men were similar to the stereotypes of gay men held by heterosexual men. These authors suggest a reason why gay men would embrace a self-stereotype: "insofar as a self-stereotype reflects what most members of one's own group have in common, it contributes to the establishment of a group or social identity. . . . This self-stereotyping may allow the oppressed minority to develop a distinct social identity and thus may promote intragroup support and solidarity" (Simon, Glassner-Bayerl, and Stratenwerth, 1991, p. 265).

Jenks and Newman (1991) asked a sample of gay men to respond to a demographic and attitudinal questionnaire by answering the questions three times: once for themselves, once as they thought the average gay man would respond, and once as they thought the average heterosexual man would respond. Results showed that the gay men tended to ascribe stereotypical attitudes and traits to other gay men in general, although not to themselves. Most interestingly, these gay men indicated that the average gay man was significantly more likely than the average heterosexual man to display characteristics typical of the opposite sex. The gay respondents nevertheless rated themselves as more like heterosexual men than like other gay men on this trait, perhaps because special efforts were made to recruit low-identified gay respondents. As was previously discussed, such low-identified gay men might not possess or recognize stereotypical gay characteristics in themselves; the important point is that they do share the mainstream sociocultural stereotype of gay people as a group.

While it is expected that the gay stereotypes of non- and low-identified gay people would be similar to the mainstream sociocultural gay stereotype, it is not clear whether gay people with developed gay identities (gay-identified people) also hold such stereotypes. It may be that gay-identified people have had longer and wider exposure to the gay community and to a diverse body of gay people at various levels of identity development, and thus may possess more refined gay stereotypes. While newly-identified gay people may retain gay stereotypes based upon the mainstream sociocultural stereotypes of gay people, fully gay-identified people may have had opportunity to further refine their gay stereotypes to bring them more in line with their experiences in the gay community. It seems likely that the gay stereotypes of fully gay-identified people

would consist only of certain elements that were borrowed from the mainstream stereotype and retained, while other elements may have been proven false or irrelevant and discarded.

Sex Atypicality in Gay People: Stereotype Conformity and Gay Identity Development

If increasingly developed gay identity is associated with greater display of stereotypical sex-atypicality, this might explain the disparate findings of studies that investigated the existence of such sex-atypical traits and behaviors in gay people. It is difficult to determine whether these previous investigators obtained representative samples that included gay people at various stages of identity development. None of these studies controlled for level of identity development, but instead they proceeded on the assumption that all gay people possess equivalent gay identities. It may be that a failure to include identity development as a moderator was responsible for the difficulty in detecting an effect. The tendency of such studies to find weak effects that hover just above or just below the significance threshold further supports such a notion. If this is indeed the case, a replication of such studies that controls for level of gay identity development might reveal that a link between homosexual orientation and sex atypicality does exist, but that it is moderated by level of gay identity development.

The present study tested the hypothesis that gay people at all levels of gay identity development subscribe to mainstream gay stereotypes, but that increased gay identity development is associated with greater conformity to those self-stereotypes. That is, if gay people tend to internalize mainstream gay stereotypes, then gay people at any level of development should hold gay stereotypes that resemble the gay stereotypes held by nongay people. But if conformity to these gay stereotypes tends to increase with

increasingly developed gay identity, then there should be greater concordance between the self-descriptions and the gay stereotypes of gay people with increasing gay identity development. The ratings of a same-sex "typical gay person" on a masculine and feminine attribute measure made by heterosexual people, non-identified gay people, newly-identified gay people, and fully gay-identified people should all be similar in their ascription of sex-atypicality, but when rating themselves on the same attribute measure, increasingly gay-identified people should indicate greater conformity to their gay stereotypes.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

Overview

A mail-in "sexual beliefs" questionnaire was completed by men and women who were recruited for their likelihood of being either gay or heterosexual. All participants rated first themselves and then their personal notion of a "typical" same-sex gay person on measures of sex-typing in the domains of personality traits, role behaviors, physical appearance, and occupational suitability. Participants were classified into sexual identity groups (heterosexual, non-identified gay, low-identified gay, and high-identified gay) according to their responses to measures of sexual orientation and sexual identity that also appeared on the questionnaire.

Participants And Recruitment Method

The primary concern in recruiting participants was to identify and recruit as many questioning and gay-identified participants as possible. The subject pool of the Psychology Department of the University of Massachusetts – Amherst for the 1998 spring semester was the primary resource for potential participants. Potentially gay-identified and questioning participants were identified by their responses to several selection questions included on the Psychology Department's prescreening questionnaire. Previous data indicated that very few prescreen respondents would indicate having a nonheterosexual orientation when asked directly; furthermore, people in the earliest stages of gay identity development would not be expected to identify as gay when asked directly about their sexual identities (Cass, 1979). For these reasons, the prescreen questions addressed behavioral and affective tendencies in addition to sexual identity.

Prescreen respondents were asked to imagine an attractive man and an attractive woman they know, and to indicate on a 7-point scale how desirable they would find a romantic relationship and a sexual encounter with each of these people. They were also asked whether they ever had romantic feelings for a man and for a woman, and whether they ever had a sexual encounter with a man and with a woman. Finally, respondents indicated their sexual identity on a 7-point scale ranging from "completely heterosexual" to "completely homosexual." These sets of questions were interspersed with unrelated items on the prescreen questionnaire, and the order of presentation was selected such that more transparent items (direct questions about sexual identity) were presented last. To ensure that the sample contained a substantial number of heterosexual participants, 10 men and 10 women who responded to all of the above questions in a completely heterosexually-consistent manner were selected for recruitment; for identification, these respondents were labeled "Heterosexual recruitment group." Potentially gay respondents were selected for recruitment if they indicated having any same-sex romantic or sexual desires or experiences, or if they indicated a sexual identity other than "completely heterosexual." This group of respondents was labeled "Expressed gay behavior or identity recruitment group."

To ensure that an adequate sample size would be obtained, opportunistic use was made of other researchers' questions that seemed likely to tap into sexual orientation and that appeared on a form of the prescreen questionnaire given to a different sample of students. Two such sets of questions were identified. The first set assessed respondents' tendencies to avoid and to initiate social contact with gay people on 7-point scales ranging from "not at all true of me" to "very true of me." Respondents were selected for

recruitment if they indicated a positive tendency to initiate social contact with gay people (a score greater than the neutral point) *and* a negative tendency to avoid such contact (a score less than the neutral point); these respondents were labeled "Social contact with gay people recruitment group." A second set of questions assessed respondents' sex-typing of their own and of their romantic partners' appearance and behavior on 7-point scales ranging from "exclusively feminine" to "exclusively masculine." Respondents were selected for recruitment if they indicated that either their own appearance or behavior or the appearance or the behavior of their partners was sex-atypical (*e.g.*, a male respondent would be selected if he indicated that his own appearance or behavior was feminine, or if he indicated that his partner's appearance or behavior was masculine); these respondents were labeled "Sex-atypical self or partner recruitment group."

Each of the potential participants was telephoned by a female research assistant (who was blind to the participants' recruitment status) and was asked if he or she would agree to complete a mail-in "sexual beliefs" survey. The assistant explained that the survey was a research project conducted by a graduate student in psychology as part of his Masters thesis, and that participants would be compensated with the opportunity to win fifty dollars in a cash lottery to be conducted at the conclusion of the study. When additional incentive was necessary, some potential participants were offered a research credit to be applied to their psychology classes. See Table 1 for a groupwise summary of numbers of potential participants identified, numbers successfully recruited, and numbers who completed the survey, as well as other descriptive data.

The readership of an electronic-mail newsletter distributed by the University of Massachusetts – Amherst's Stonewall Center, a gay and lesbian student organization and

resource center, provided an additional resource for college-aged potential participants who identified as gay. An announcement was distributed over this electronic newsletter that a graduate student in psychology needed volunteers to complete a mail-in "sexual beliefs" survey, and that participants would be compensated with the opportunity to win fifty dollars in a cash lottery to be conducted at the conclusion of the study. Interested persons were directed to contact the researcher directly by telephone or by electronic mail. For identification, this group of participants was labeled "Stonewall Center recruitment group." See Table 1 for a summary of numbers of participants who responded to this announcement, numbers who completed the survey, and other descriptive data.

Materials

The "sexual beliefs survey" questionnaire that participants received comprised several separate measures.

Bem Sex Role Inventory

The first of these measures was the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI; Bem, 1974), a self-report measure of psychological androgyny that categorizes people on independent masculinity and femininity dimensions. On this measure, participants indicate how well each of 60 personality trait descriptions applies to themselves using a 7-point scale with anchors ranging from "never or almost never true" to "always or almost always true." Of the 60 items, 20 were validated as masculine (desirable in males) and another 20 as feminine (desirable in females). Participants' androgyny scores are obtained by subtracting their masculinity scores from their femininity scores. The absolute value

Table 1. Descriptive data and response rates for the recruitment groups.

Recruitment group	*N* identified	*N* agreed to receive a survey[a]	*N* returned a completed survey	Response Rate (%)	Mean Age
Heterosexual					
Male	10[b]	10	9	90.0	20.1
Female	10	10	10	100.0	19.0
Expressed gay behavior or identity					
Male	32	27	23	85.2	21.5
Female	54	42	39	92.9	19.4
Social contact with gay people					
Male	37	33	26	78.8	20.3
Female	37	32	24	75.0	19.1
Sex-atypical self or partner					
Male	43	20	14	70.0	19.4
Female	44	19	15	78.9	19.4
Stonewall Center					
Male	N/A[c]	17	14	82.4	26.4
Female	N/A	36	31	86.1	25.1
Total	267[d]	246	205	83.3	21.0

[a] Three potential participants declined to participate when contacted; all other potential participants who were not recruited had remained unreachable after numerous attempts to contact them. The declining participants were a man and a woman in the "Sex-atypical self or partner" group and a woman in the "Expressed gay behavior or identity" group.

[b] Hundreds of potential participants were identified; they were contacted randomly until 20 recruits were obtained. None of the people who were contacted declined to participate.

[c] Because the recruitment method for this group differed, the "*N* identified" values are not applicable.

[d] This total is qualified per notes (b) and (c) above.

of the resulting difference score indicates level of sex typing or reversal, with high positive scores indicating high femininity, high negative scores indicating masculinity, and scores closer to zero indicating greater androgyny. The BSRI has been used in past research to assess sex-atypicality in gay samples (Hooberman, 1979; Stokes, Kilmann, and Wanlass, 1983). See Appendix A for a listing of the BSRI items and instructions to participants.

Bem's (1974) validation study of the BSRI found high internal consistency of the masculinity (alpha = .86) and femininity (alpha > .80) scales and high test-retest reliability (masculinity r = .90, femininity r = .90). A large sample of Stanford University students (male n = 444, female n = 279) was measured with the BSRI, and males scored significantly higher in masculinity than females (male M = 4.97, SD = .67; female M = 4.57, SD = .69; t = 7.62, p < .001) while females scored significantly higher in femininity than males (female M = 5.01, SD = .52; male M = 4.44, SD = .55; t = 13.88, p < .001). Bem validated the masculinity and femininity scales separately rather than as a combined androgyny score because she recommended calculating androgyny scores as a t ratio, but she noted that a simple difference score was highly correlated to the t ratio and is a suitable alternative means of obtaining androgyny scores.

Attribute Assessment of Gender Stereotypes

The Attribute Assessment of Gender Stereotypes (AAGS; Deaux and Lewis, 1983) includes 83 masculine and feminine gender-stereotyped attributes in four distinct categories—traits, role behaviors, physical characteristics, and occupations. Participants indicate their estimate of the probability on a 0 to 100 point scale that each attribute would be characteristic of a male or female target. In the present study the scales were

adapted to a more familiar 7-point Likert format with the anchors "not at all descriptive" and "extremely descriptive."

Mean masculine and feminine attribute scores may be computed within each category, providing a measure of the degree to which the target is gender stereotyped and in what domains. The form of the AAGS used in the present study included all those items that were significantly differentially applied to male and female targets by the 195 participants in Deaux and Lewis's (1983) validation study, and for which the mean endorsement of the item for male and female targets differed by at least 20 scale points on a 100-point scale (all ts > 8.0, $p < .001$). See Appendix B for a listing of the AAGS items and instructions to participants.

Gay Identity Questionnaire

The Gay Identity Questionnaire (GIQ; Brady and Busse, 1994) is a self-report measure that categorizes people according to the six stages of gay identity development specified in the Cass (1979) model. Participants respond to 45 true or false items that assess the presence of characteristics associated with each of the six stages, as conceived by Cass. There are seven questions assessing each of the six stages; the remaining three questions serve as checks on the sexual orientation of participants by asking directly whether they have thoughts, feelings, and behaviors that they would label as homosexual.

Participants are categorized into the particular stage for which they endorse the greatest number of items. In the event of tie scores, participants may be given a dual-stage classification or may be removed from the analysis. See Appendix C for a listing of the GIQ items and instructions to participants.

Gay Social Desirability Scale

A methodological problem associated with research on gay and lesbian people is the possibility that some low-identified gay people may be experiencing extreme emotional distress about confronting the possibility of having a homosexual orientation. These people may therefore react by denying this possibility strongly and vigilantly preventing any disclosure of their uncertainty about their sexual orientation (Cass, 1979). Such people might tend to respond dishonestly to questions about their sexual orientation or sexual identity, and it would be desirable to identify these people and remove them from any research sample because they might be miscategorized or might misrepresent their categories.[2]

To this end, a gay social desirability scale was created. This measure comprises eight statements that superficially appear to address questions of sexual orientation or identity but actually do not, and they are in fact statements with which most people would tend to agree. Because the statements appear to be assessing sexual orientation or identity, people who are actively trying to dissociate from a gay identity would tend to disagree with them. The scale therefore provides a measure of participants' tendencies to respond dishonestly to sexual orientation or sexual identity questions. See Appendix D for a listing of the Gay Social Desirability Scale items.

Sexual Orientation Scale

It was necessary to ascertain as accurately as possible the actual sexual orientation of all participants in order to differentiate heterosexual people from non-identified gay

[2] It should be noted that such deception is not necessarily intentional: some low-identified gay people may deny their homosexual orientations even to themselves, and may not be aware that they are dissociating from a gay identity (Cass, 1979; Troiden, 1993). Even when intentional, such deception should be

people. Because non-identified gay people by definition do not express any gay identity, the Gay Identity Questionnaire alone would not suffice for making this differentiation (both groups would be expected to respond in a similar fashion on that measure, and to be categorized in stage one, Identity Confusion). For the same reason, it would not be sufficient merely to ask participants directly about their sexual orientations. Instead, the Sexual Orientation Scale was developed to measure this construct independently of sexual identity.

The 7 items on this scale included three items that probed for homosexual thoughts, feelings, and behaviors, taken from the Gay Identity Questionnaire. The remaining four items were devised specifically for the present study. These were similar to items included on the prescreen questionnaire, and they assessed participants' attractions to, sexual behaviors with, and romantic interests in men (for male participants) or women (for female participants). One question assessed participants' confidence in their heterosexuality. See Appendix E for a listing of the Sexual Orientation Scale items.

Procedure

Potential participants were identified as described above, were telephoned and told that they were randomly selected to participate in a research project investigating student sexuality, and were asked if they would be willing to complete a mail-in survey about their sexual beliefs. Participants were told that their voluntary participation would be appreciated as an important contribution to a student's research, and that they would be compensated with the opportunity to win fifty dollars in a cash lottery to be conducted at

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interpreted as a stigma management strategy intended to protect the self from significant social stigma, including the real or imagined experience of hostility, discrimination, and even violence.

the conclusion of the study. Some participants were also offered one research credit to be applied toward their psychology class as additional incentive.

Participants were then mailed a copy of the questionnaire packet that corresponded to their gender, and they were instructed to complete the entire questionnaire in the order presented, at a time when they could give it their full attention, without interruption or consultation with others. Participants were reassured of complete confidentiality and carefully instructed not to indicate any identifying information anywhere on the questionnaires or on the provided return envelopes. They returned the completed questionnaires to us by campus mail.

Each questionnaire packet began with a simple demographic question form on which participants indicated their sex, age, ethnicity, and current year in college. The next set of items in the packet was the Bem Sex Role Inventory and the Attribute Assessment of Gender Stereotypes, with instructions that participants should describe themselves in their responses on these measures.

The next set of items in the packet was the BSRI and the AAGS administered a second time, with new instructions that participants should describe a "typical" gay man (if the participant was a man) or a "typical" gay woman (if the participant was a woman) in their responses. See Appendix F for the complete instructions to participants that defined this "typical" same-sex gay target.

The next item in the questionnaire was the Gay Identity Questionnaire, with instructions for its completion provided according to the authors' guidelines. The items from the Gay Social Desirability Scale and from the Sexual Orientation Scale were interspersed with the items from the Gay Identity Questionnaire. This order of

presentation was favored because of the transparency of the Gay Identity Questionnaire and to minimize suspicion. The final item in the questionnaire was a set of open-ended questions that probed for dishonesty, dissatisfaction with the accuracy of responses, and failure to follow directions.

Because participants were not observed as they completed these questionnaires, and because prior knowledge of the hypotheses being tested would create a response bias, debriefing information was not included with the questionnaire but was instead mailed to participants after data collection was completed. Participants who did not return completed questionnaires within approximately 10 days of their initial mailing were telephoned and gently reminded to do so. Such telephone reminders were repeated as necessary, at approximately 2-week intervals, up to a maximum of three reminder calls. Refer back to Table 1 for response rates by recruitment group.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

Gay Social Desirability Measure

The purpose of this measure was to identify participants who displayed social desirability by avoiding responses that might indicate a gay identity. After appropriate recoding, the mean of these 8 items formed a gay social desirability score for each participant, with higher scores indicating higher dissociation from a gay identity (on a scale of 1 to 4). The alpha reliability of this scale was .79. The mean score for all participants was 1.67 with a standard deviation of .57; the distribution of scores appeared to be positively skewed. Six participants (5 men and 1 woman; 3% of the sample) obtained scores of 3.0 or greater on this scale. Because this score represents the boundary on the response scale between neutrality and agreement with social desirability items, these six participants were considered to be displaying active dissociation from a gay identity and were removed from further analyses. The decision to use the score of 3.0 as a cutoff is further supported by inspection of the distribution of scores, in which it appears that the positive tail trails off sharply after this score.

Sexual Orientation Scale

The purpose of this scale was to categorize participants as having either a heterosexual or a homosexual orientation. After appropriate selection of items and recoding, the mean of these 7 items formed a sexual orientation score for each participant, with higher scores indicating higher consistency with a homosexual orientation (on a scale of 1 to 4). The alpha reliability of this scale was .96 for women and .98 for men. The mean score for women was 2.33 with a standard deviation of 1.12;

the mean score for men was 1.91 with a standard deviation of 1.17. Participants who responded to every item in a manner that was completely consistent with a heterosexual orientation (obtaining a mean score of exactly 1.0) were classified as heterosexual, while participants who responded to any item in a manner that was not completely consistent with a heterosexual orientation (obtaining a mean score greater than 1.0) were categorized as gay. This method of categorization was selected for maximum inclusivity of gay people who were in the lowest stage of gay identity development and who, by definition, would therefore self-present as heterosexual and express only some occasional heterosexually-inconsistent thoughts, feelings, or behaviors (Cass, 1979).

Of the 119 women in the sample, 95 (79.8%) were categorized as gay, as were 49 of 86 men (56.9%). A crosstabulation of categorized sexual orientation with original recruitment group appears in Table 2. Overall, the categorization of participants as heterosexual or gay within each recruitment group was consistent with expectation. Those who were recruited because they were likely to be gay tended to be categorized as gay; likewise, those who were recruited because they were likely to be heterosexual tended to be categorized as heterosexual. Some participants were categorized as having a sexual orientation that was inconsistent with expectation; these cases seem likely to have resulted from errors introduced in the recruitment measure. Some participants may have responded to the prescreen questionnaire in a random or careless fashion, and others may have intentionally responded to the prescreen questions in a socially desirable fashion because of the close proximity of other students in the testing room. It seems likely that responses to the same questions on the mailed survey were more accurate, as participants were able to complete the survey leisurely and in privacy.

Table 2. Crosstabulation of participants' categorized sexual orientation with original recruitment groups.

	Categorized sexual orientation			
	Heterosexual		Gay	
Recruitment group	*N*	%	*N*	%
Heterosexual				
Male	5	55.6	4	44.4
Female	10	100.0	0	0.0
Expressed gay behavior or identity				
Male	6	26.1	17	73.9
Female	1	2.6	38	97.4
Social contact with gay people				
Male	14	53.8	12	46.2
Female	7	29.2	17	70.8
Sex-atypical self or partner				
Male	12	85.7	2	14.3
Female	6	40.0	9	60.0
Stonewall Center				
Male	0	0.0	14	100.0
Female	0	0.0	31	100.0
Total				
Male	37	43.0	49	57.0
Female	24	20.2	95	79.8

Note. Percentages indicate the proportion of men and the proportion of women within each recruitment group who were categorized as heterosexual or gay.

Gay Identity Questionnaire

The purpose of this measure was to further categorize the gay participants into one of Cass's (1979) six stages of gay identity development. Participants indicated responses to this item on a 4-point scale labeled *always false, usually false, usually true,* and *always true,* with higher numbers indicating greater endorsement of the item as true. For each participant, six stage-wise subscores were calculated by computing the mean response to the seven items corresponding to each of the six gay identity development stages. Each participant was categorized into the stage of gay identity development for which the corresponding stage-wise subscore was greatest. In the event of tie scores, participants were categorized into the higher stage.

This method of scoring the GIQ ignores the labeling of responses as *true* or *false* and presumes that higher-numbered responses simply indicate a higher degree of endorsement of respective items. An alternative method would be to dichotomize the scale (as it was originally designed) by recoding *always false* and *usually false* as simply *false* and recoding *always true* and *usually true* as simply *true*. Under this method, stage-wise subscores would be calculated by counting the number of items within each stage that were endorsed as *true*, with categorization again determined by the stage with the greatest subscore. Tie scores would be resolved in a similar manner, but would be more frequent because some information would be lost in the dichotomization. Participants were categorized into a gay identity development stage under both methods. Because these categorizations correlated very highly, $r = .93$, $p < .001$, and because the first method allowed finer distinctions and resulted in fewer tie scores, the categorization obtained under the first method was used for all further analyses. The crosstabulation of

gay identity development stage classification with sexual orientation (see Table 3) is consistent with expectation. In particular, while about half the gay participants were categorized in gay identity development stages two through six, all but one of the heterosexual participants were categorized in stage one.

In a validation study, Brady and Busse (1994) suggested that the GIQ was most effective at distinguishing between people with low and high gay identity development. Following this recommendation, gay participants were classified as high in gay identity development if the GIQ results placed them into stages five or six, and low in gay identity development if the GIQ results placed them into stages two, three, or four. Furthermore, gay participants were classified as displaying no gay identity development if the GIQ results placed them in stage one. This classification scheme was chosen for its consistency with the theoretical meanings of the separate stages. According to Cass (1979), gay people in stage one have only just begun to question their assumptions of heteronormativity and have not acquired even a rudimentary sense of self as gay. People in stages two, three, and four display increasing awareness and acceptance of a gay identity, but only people in stages five and six no longer retain any sense of shame about their sexual orientation and live proudly and openly as gay people (Cass, 1979). Combining the classifications resulting from the Sexual Orientation Scale and the Gay Identity Questionnaire yielded four sexual-identity groups: Heterosexual, Non-Identified Gay, Low-Identified Gay, and High-Identified Gay. See Table 4 for a crosstabulation of sexual-identity groups by sex.

Table 3. Crosstabulation of participants' categorized sexual orientation with gay identity development stage classification.

	Categorized sexual orientation			
	Heterosexual		Gay	
Gay Identity Stage	*N*	%	*N*	%
Stage 1	54	98.2	71	49.3
Stage 2	0	0.0	11	7.6
Stage 3	0	0.0	6	4.2
Stage 4	1	1.8	9	6.3
Stage 5	0	0.0	14	9.7
Stage 6	0	0.0	33	22.9

Table 4. Classification of participants into sexual-identity groups.

	Sex			
	Male		Female	
Sexual-identity group	*N*	%	*N*	%
Heterosexual	32	39.5	23	19.5
Non-identified gay	24	29.6	47	39.8
Low-identified gay	9	11.1	17	14.4
High-identified gay	16	19.8	31	26.3

Bem Sex Role Inventory and Attribute Assessment of Gender Stereotypes

The purpose of these measures was to assess participants' sex-typed stereotypes of same-sex gay people and to assess their sex-typed self-perceptions in several domains. The BSRI was used to assess sex-typing of personality traits and AAGS was used to assess sex typing of role behaviors, physical appearance, and occupational suitability. Participants completed each measure twice, once in reference to the self (henceforth labeled the *self* measures) and once in reference to a "typical" same-sex gay person (henceforth labeled the *gay* measures). Each measure comprised separate masculinity and femininity scales; the mean of the items constituting each scale on each measure formed respective masculinity and femininity scores for each participant. For example, each participant obtained a masculinity score and a femininity score on the BSRI-self measure, and a masculinity and a femininity score on the BSRI-gay measure. See Table 5 for mean masculinity and femininity scores for men and for women on each measure, and for respective alpha reliabilities.

For greater ease of interpretation, these masculinity and femininity subscores on each measure were combined by subtracting the femininity subscore from the masculinity subscore, resulting in a single difference score for each measure with higher scores indicating greater masculinity. This method of combining masculinity and femininity subscores into a single difference score for each measure is consistent with the original author's prescription for scoring the BSRI (Bem, 1974). While the authors of the AAGS did not provide a recommendation for scoring the measure, this procedure seems consistent with their discussion of the measure's psychometric properties (Deaux and Lewis, 1983), and with the similarity of the AAGS to the BSRI. See Table 6 for mean

difference scores for men and for women on each of these measures, and see Table 7 for intercorrelations of difference scores among these measures.

Stereotypes of Gay People

The BSRI-gay and AAGS-gay scores for men and for women in the four sexual-identity groups provided measures of the different groups' sex-typed stereotypes of same-sex gay people in the domains of personality traits (BSRI), role behaviors (AAGS-role subscale), physical appearance (AAGS-appearance subscale), and occupational suitability (AAGS-occupation subscale). See Table 8 for mean scores on each of these measures by sex and sexual-identity group. If stereotypes of same-sex gay people do not differ for people with different sexual identities, people from different sexual-identity groups would not be expected to differ in their assessments of a typical same-sex gay person on the BSRI and AAGS measures. This prediction that BSRI-gay and AAGS-gay scores would not differ by sexual-identity group is tantamount to predicting the null hypothesis; failure to reject the null hypothesis may result from low power and not the absence of an effect of sexual-identity group. Nevertheless, it is important to show some evidence that stereotypes of gay people do not differ by sexual identity as a precondition to investigating an association between sexual-identity group and stereotype conformity.

Consistent with expectation, women in all sexual-identity groups rated a typical gay woman as significantly masculine in personality traits, $t\,(112) = 12.33$, $p < .001$, role behaviors, $t\,(113) = 2.44$, $p = .016$, physical appearance, $t\,(112) = 6.93$, $p < .001$,and occupational suitability $t\,(110) = 2.03$, $p = .045$ (see Table 8 for means and standard deviations). There were no differences among the sexual-identity groups on any of these measures (all Fs < 1.5, *ns*). Also consistent with expectation, men across all sexual-

Table 5. Alpha reliabilities and mean scores of men and women on the masculinity and femininity scales of the Bem Sex Role Inventory and the Attribute Assessment of Gender Stereotypes.

Measure and scale[a]	Alpha reliability (*N* of items in scale)	Men			Women		
		M	*SD*	*N*	*M*	*SD*	*N*
BSRI (traits)							
Self							
Masculinity	.85 (20)	5.03	.70	81	4.79	.66	118
Femininity	.80 (20)	4.63	.59	81	4.92	.61	118
Gay							
Masculinity	.93 (20)	4.44	.69	80	5.35	.71	114
Femininity	.91 (20)	4.95	.66	80	4.21	.78	113
AAGS—role behaviors							
Self							
Masculinity	.79 (7)	4.48	1.21	81	3.95	1.24	118
Femininity	.74 (7)	4.33	1.18	81	5.00	.99	118
Gay							
Masculinity	.85 (7)	4.38	.96	80	5.11	.95	114
Femininity	.89 (7)	5.10	.93	80	4.89	1.07	114
AAGS—physical appearance							
Self							
Masculinity	.74 (6)	4.41	.98	81	3.29	1.11	118
Femininity	.70 (8)	3.14	.85	81	3.67	1.05	118
Gay							
Masculinity	.80 (6)	3.98	.73	80	4.33	.86	113
Femininity	.89 (8)	4.63	.80	81	3.39	.98	113
AAGS—occupational suitability							
Self							
Masculinity	.85 (10)	3.15	1.24	81	2.42	1.02	118
Femininity	.78 (9)	2.76	.93	81	3.44	1.19	118
Gay							
Masculinity	.93 (10)	3.54	1.16	80	4.55	1.23	111
Femininity	.91 (9)	5.01	.95	81	4.26	1.32	111

[a] Each measure was administered twice (once assessing the self, and once assessing a "typical" same-sex gay person), and each measure comprised independent masculinity and femininity scales.

Table 6. Mean difference scores of men and women on the Bem Sex Role Inventory and the subscales of the Attribute Assessment of Gender Stereotypes.

Measure and scale[a]	Men			Women		
	M	*SD*	*N*	*M*	*SD*	*N*
BSRI (traits)						
Self	.40	.93	81	-.14	.94	118
Gay	-.51	.95	80	1.14	.98	113
AAGS—role behaviors						
Self	.15	1.22	81	-1.05	1.16	118
Gay	-.73	1.21	80	.22	.96	114
AAGS—physical appearance						
Self	1.27	1.36	81	-.38	1.71	118
Gay	-.62	1.15	80	.94	1.44	113
AAGS—occupational suitability						
Self	.40	1.25	81	-1.03	1.12	118
Gay	-1.44	1.40	80	.29	1.53	111

[a] Each measure was administered twice (once assessing the self, and once assessing a "typical" same-sex gay person). Each measure comprised separate masculinity and femininity scales (see Table 5); difference scores were obtained by subtracting the femininity score from the masculinity score for each participant on each measure. Higher scores indicate greater masculinity.

Table 7. Intercorrelations between difference scores on the Bem Sex Role Inventory and the subscales of the Attribute Assessment of Gender Stereotypes.

	BSRI (traits)	AAGS—role behaviors	AAGS—physical appearance	AAGS—occupational suitability
Assessing the self				
BSRI (traits)	—	.539	.406	.413
AAGS—role behaviors		—	.485	.585
AAGS—physical appearance			—	.473
AAGS—occupational suitability				—
Assessing a "typical" same-sex gay person				
BSRI (traits)	—	.611	.755	.690
AAGS—role behaviors		—	.535	.663
AAGS—physical appearance			—	.709
AAGS—occupational suitability				—

Note. All correlations are significant at the .001 level (2-tailed).

Table 8. Mean scores of men and women by sexual-identity groups on the BSRI and on the AAGS subscales when assessing a typical same-sex gay person.

Measure	Sexual Identity			
	Heterosexual	Non-Identified Gay	Low-Identified Gay	High-Identified Gay
		Women		
BSRI (traits)				
M	1.23	1.15	.75	1.27
SD	1.19	.90	.79	1.02
N	22	46	16	29
AAGS—role behaviors				
M	.26	.14	.10	.38
SD	1.17	.94	.79	.93
N	23	46	16	29
AAGS—physical appearance				
M	1.42	.75	.56	1.05
SD	1.90	1.28	1.48	1.18
N	23	46	15	29
AAGS—occupational suitability				
M	.06	.17	.45	.59
SD	2.09	1.54	1.55	.89
N	22	45	15	29
		Men		
BSRI (traits)				
M	-.56	-.85	-.52	.13
SD	.80	.64	1.02	.96
N	31	24	9	16
AAGS—role behaviors				
M	-.58	-.85	-.86	-.77
SD	1.32	1.21	1.18	1.07
N	32	23	9	16
AAGS—physical appearance				
M	-.85	-.93	.03	-.09
SD	1.15	.91	.22	1.46
N	32	23	9	16
AAGS—occupational suitability				
M	-1.32	-1.48	-1.42	-1.65
SD	1.31	1.38	1.72	1.51
N	32	23	9	16

Note. Higher scores indicate greater masculinity.

identity groups rated a typical gay man as significantly feminine in personality traits, t (79) = -5.20, $p < .001$, role behaviors, t (79) = -5.35, $p < .001$, physical appearance, t (79) = -4.86, $p < .001$, and occupational suitability, t (79) = -9.24, $p < .001$ (see Table 8 for means and standard deviations). There was no difference among sexual-identity groups on the role behavior measure ($F = .26$, *ns*) and on the occupational suitability measure ($F = .21$, *ns*). A one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) indicated significant differences among the sexual-identity groups on the trait measure ($F = 4.76$, $p = .004$), and a Tukey post-hoc comparison revealed that a typical gay man was rated as significantly more masculine in traits by the High-Identified Gay group than by both the Heterosexual and the Non-Identified Gay groups. Similarly, a one-way ANOVA indicated significant differences among the sexual-identity groups on the physical appearance measure ($F = 3.38$, $p = .023$), and a Tukey post-hoc comparison revealed that a typical gay man was rated as significantly more masculine in physical appearance by the High-Identified Gay and the Low-Identified Gay groups than by the Heterosexual and the Non-Identified Gay groups (See Table 8 for means and standard deviations).

As further evidence of sex-atypical gay stereotyping, repeated-measures multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) analyses revealed that all women rated a typical gay woman as significantly more masculine than themselves in personality traits (multivariate $F = 92.44$, $p < .001$), in role behaviors (multivariate $F = 84.27$, $p < .001$), in physical appearance (multivariate $F = 44.17$, $p < .001$), and in occupational suitability (multivariate $F = 57.73$, $p < .001$). Similarly, repeated-measures MANOVA analyses revealed that all men rated a typical gay man as significantly more feminine than themselves in personality traits (multivariate $F = 35.33$, $p < .001$), in role behaviors

(multivariate $F = 24.15$, $p < .001$), in physical appearance (multivariate $F = 87.02$, $p < .001$), and in occupational suitability (multivariate $F = 67.50$, $p < .001$). Refer back to Table 6 for means and standard deviations.

Thus, while stereotypes of same-sex gay people may be attenuated in some domains for men who are highly gay-identified, men and women in all sexual-identity groups do stereotype same-sex gay people as absolutely sex-atypical and/or as relatively sex-atypical compared to themselves. This finding is consistent with previous research findings that gay people are stereotyped as sex-atypical in various domains (for a review, see Shively, Rudolph, and De Cecco, 1978).

Stereotype Conformity in Gay People

The BSRI-self and AAGS-self scores for men and for women in the four sexual-identity groups provided measures of the different groups' self-perceptions of sex-typing (or atypicality) in the domains of personality traits (BSRI), role behaviors (AAGS-role subscale), physical appearance (AAGS-appearance subscale), and occupational suitability (AAGS-occupation subscale). See Table 9 for mean scores on each of these measures by sex and sexual-identity group.

If people in different sexual-identity groups have somewhat different stereotypes of same-sex gay people, it is not sufficient to demonstrate stereotype conformity by demonstrating increasing concordance between ratings of the self and ratings of a same-sex gay target with increasing gay identity. Such increasing concordance might partly reflect differences in stereotypes in addition to increasing conformity to those stereotypes. Given that men and women in all sexual-identity groups stereotype same-sex gay people as more sex-atypical than themselves, it seems more appropriate to

Table 9. Mean scores of men and women by sexual-identity groups on the BSRI and on the AAGS subscales when assessing the self.

Measure	Sexual Identity			
	Heterosexual	Non-Identified Gay	Low-Identified Gay	High-Identified Gay
		Women		
BSRI (traits)				
M	-.55	-.26	-.12	.33
SD	.81	.88	.98	.95
N	23	47	17	31
AAGS—role behaviors				
M	-1.77	-1.12	-.90	-.49
SD	1.13	1.01	1.28	1.05
N	23	47	17	31
AAGS—physical appearance				
M	-.90	-.66	-.10	.29
SD	1.58	1.73	1.63	1.64
N	23	47	17	31
AAGS—occupational suitability				
M	-1.53	-1.35	-.94	-.21
SD	.87	1.10	.78	1.03
N	23	47	17	31
		Men		
BSRI (traits)				
M	.63	.20	.24	.32
SD	.75	1.03	1.11	.98
N	32	24	9	16
AAGS—role behaviors				
M	.43	-.09	.05	.01
SD	1.07	1.29	1.38	1.30
N	32	24	9	16
AAGS—physical appearance				
M	1.25	1.48	1.45	.88
SD	1.31	1.30	2.14	1.01
N	32	24	9	16
AAGS—occupational suitability				
M	.79	.62	.06	-.54
SD	.98	1.07	1.47	1.41
N	32	24	9	16

Note. Higher scores indicate greater masculinity.

conceptualize stereotype conformity in gay people simply as becoming more sex-atypical. An association between increasing gay identity and increasing sex-atypicality would therefore be expected if gay identity development is associated with stereotype conformity, such that increasingly gay-identified men would assess themselves as lower in masculinity on the BSRI-self and AAGS-self, while increasingly gay-identified women would assess themselves as higher in masculinity on those same measures. In accordance with these predictions, data from the BSRI-self and AAGS-self measures were submitted to trend analyses using one-way ANOVA with linear polynomial contrasts.

For women, significant linear trends emerged for personality traits ($F = 12.29$, $p = .001$), role behaviors ($F = 18.67$, $p < .001$), physical appearance ($F = 7.99$, $p = .006$), and occupational suitability ($F = 25.15$, $p < .001$), such that higher levels of gay identity were associated with greater masculinity on all four measures (see Figures 1 through 4 for graphs of these trends; see Table 9 for means and standard deviations).

For men, a significant linear trend emerged for occupational suitability ($F = 15.54$, $p < .001$) such that higher levels of gay identity were associated with lower masculinity (see Figure 5 for a graph of this trend; see Table 9 for means and standard deviations). No significant linear trends or differences between sexual-identity groups emerged for men on the personality traits, role behaviors, or physical appearance measures (all Fs < 1.2, *ns*).

These results support the hypothesis that gay identity development in women is associated with greater conformity to lesbian stereotypes in various domains. The same hypothesis with respect to men is also partially supported by these results: it is supported

in the domain of occupational suitability, and while the nonsignificant results on the measures tapping other domains do not support the hypothesis, neither do they contradict it.

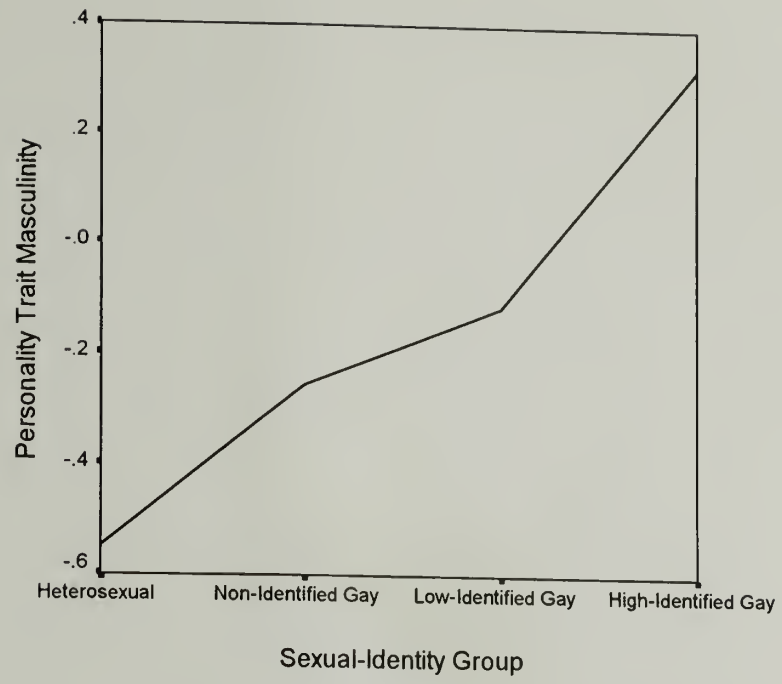

Figure 1. Mean scores of women on the BSRI-self (trait measure) by sexual-identity group. Higher scores indicate greater masculinity.

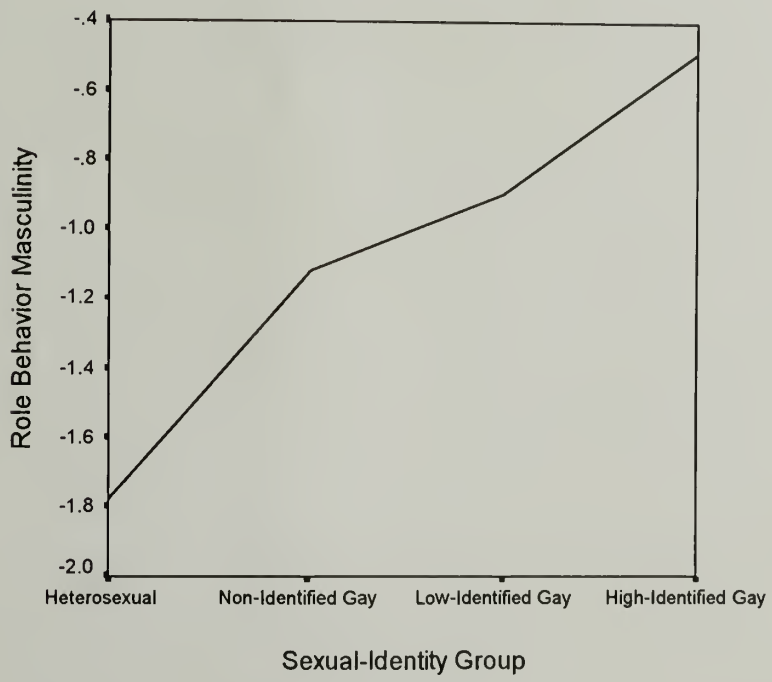

Figure 2. Mean scores of women on the role behaviors subscale of the AAGS-self by sexual-identity group. Higher scores indicate greater masculinity.

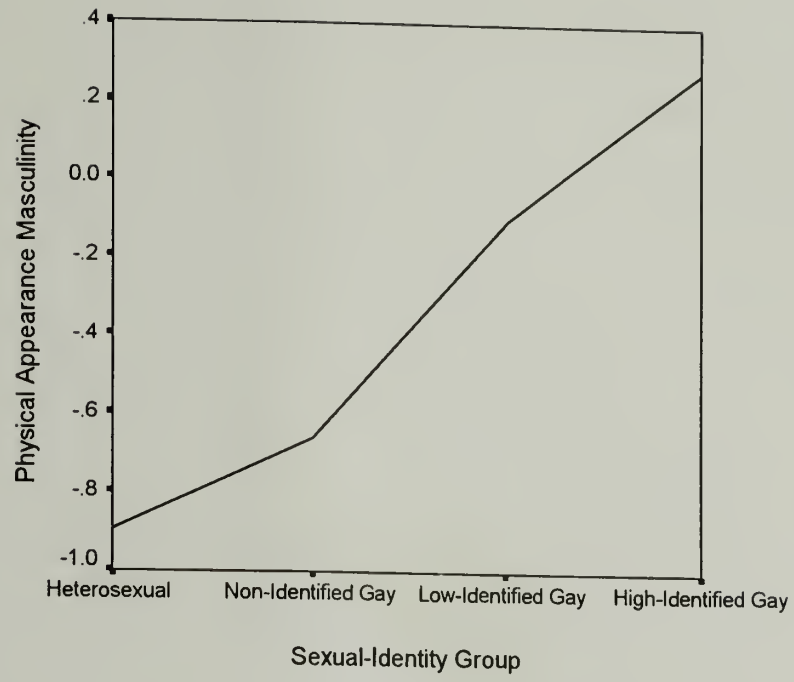

Figure 3. Mean scores of women on the physical appearance subscale of the AAGS-self by sexual-identity group. Higher scores indicate greater masculinity.

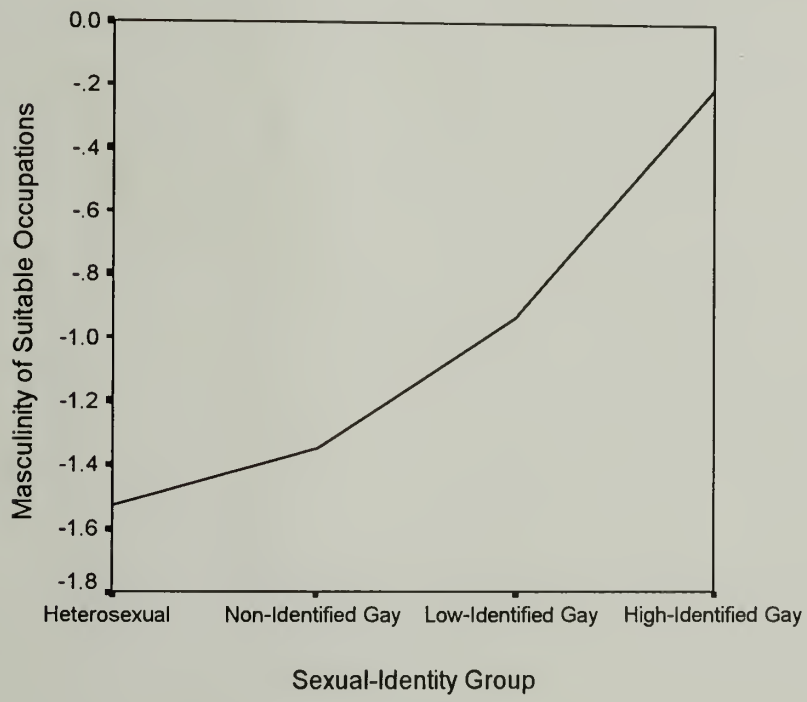

Figure 4. Mean scores of women on the occupational suitability subscale of the AAGS-self by sexual-identity group. Higher scores indicate greater masculinity.

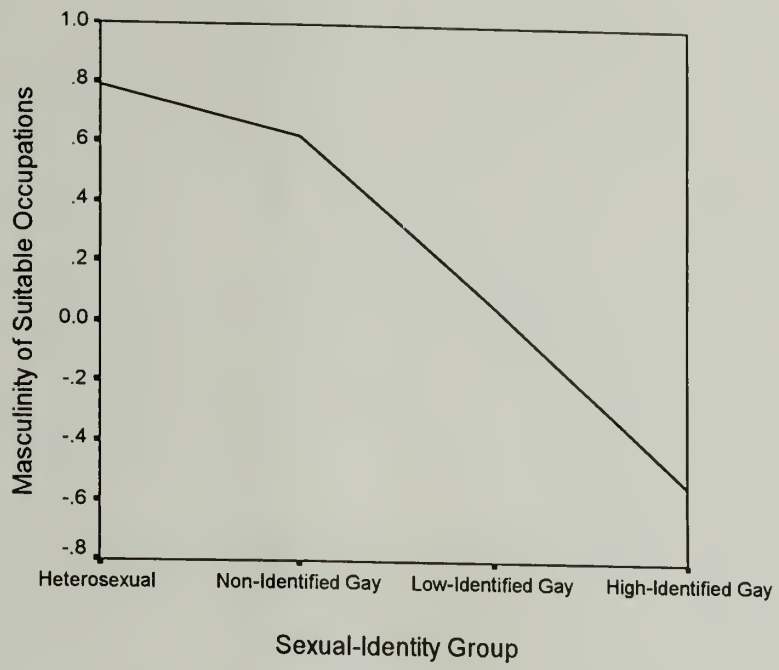

Figure 5. Mean scores of men on the occupational suitability subscale of the AAGS-self by sexual-identity group. Higher scores indicate greater masculinity.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

Interpretations and Implications of Major Findings

It was hypothesized that men and women with different sexual identities—heterosexual, non-identified gay, low-identified gay, and high-identified gay—would have similar personal stereotypes of a same-sex gay person as sex-atypical, and that people with more highly developed gay identities would report greater sex atypicality in themselves. It was found that men and women across all sexual-identity categories rated a same-sex gay person as sex atypical in the domains of personality traits, role behaviors, physical appearance, and occupational suitability. It was also found that women with higher levels of gay identity development rated themselves higher in masculinity in these same domains, as predicted. Men with higher levels of gay identity development were found to report lesser masculinity only in the domain of occupational suitability; in the other three domains, men reported no difference in sex typing across sexual-identity categories.

The first finding suggests that gay people hold self-stereotypes that are similar to the mainstream sociocultural stereotype of gay people as sex-atypical, which would be expected if gay people absorb such stereotypes from their cultural milieu and use such biased information to help define "what it means to be gay." Highly gay-identified men did show lower levels of such self-stereotyping in the domains of personality traits and physical appearance, although there is no theoretical explanation for why highly gay-identified women did not show a similar attenuation of the sex-atypical self-stereotype.

The finding that more highly gay-identified women reported greater sex-atypicality helps to resolve the disparate findings of past research that sometimes did and sometimes did not find such sex-atypicality in lesbians (Findlay and Scheltema, 1991; Jones and De Cecco, 1982; LaTorre and Wendenberg, 1983; Oberstone and Sukonek, 1976; Oldham, Farnill, and Ball, 1982; Shively, Rudolph, and De Cecco, 1978; Stokes, Kilmann, and Wanlass, 1983), and it also supports the hypothesis that gay identity development is associated with stereotype conformity in lesbians. Establishing that this relationship exists provides support for the theoretical supposition that the gay identity development process fosters stereotype conformity in gay people, laying the groundwork for future investigations into the cause and direction of this association.

If lesbians (and possibly also gay men) at the higher stages of gay identity development report greater sex-atypicality, it becomes more difficult to argue that such atypicality is inherent to a homosexual orientation. Instead, such a finding is more consistent with the premise that sex-atypicality is an acquired element of a socially-constructed gay identity. That is, given the findings of the present study, it seems more likely that gay people conform to gay stereotypes in the expression of a gay identity than that gay people are inherently sex-atypical. While a longitudinal study of the gay identity development process would be necessary to show that stereotype conformity actually increases with increased gay identity, the results of the present study suggest that some relationship does exist.

Such a relationship has important implications for theory and research. Some previous researchers investigating sex-atypicality in gay people either assumed that sex-atypicality is inherent to a homosexual orientation without considering that it may be part

of the expression of a gay identity, or they were not clear on this distinction (Findlay and Scheltema, 1991; Hooberman, 1979; Jones and De Cecco, 1982; Oldham, Farnill, and Ball, 1982; Shively, Rudolph, and De Cecco, 1978). It may be the case, however, that many people with a homosexual orientation are socialized into a gay identity that deviates somewhat from socially-constructed sex roles. A failure to distinguish between homosexual orientation and gay identity appears to be common in research on gay people; indeed, these constructs are often confounded when researchers expressly define a homosexual orientation as the expression of a gay identity. Yet it appears possible that sexual orientation may be essential and fixed in nature, and that the expression of that orientation (identity) may still be socially constructed and dynamic, depending in part on the meaning people attach to their orientations. It seems sensible for researchers to specify whether they are investigating sexual orientation or sexual identity, to measure the effects of each separately when appropriate, and to guard against the distortion of findings by a sexual-identity bias that may be introduced when sexual orientation is operationalized narrowly (*cf.* Bailey, Kim, Hills, and Linsenmeier, 1997). The problems of measurement of sexual orientation and sexual identity will be further discussed in the next section.

The present study has some broad social implications. Evidence that mainstream gay stereotypes are implicated in the gay identity development process suggests that gay people are not fully able to define their own identities for themselves. Instead, the "way to be gay" may be externally imposed by heterosexual stereotypes, limiting gay people's range of possible identity options and maintaining a cyclical process in which people who develop a rich gay identity may also be more likely to confirm gay stereotypes. Equally

importantly, gay people—particularly lesbians, given the present findings—who do not or will not conform to the sex-atypical gay stereotype may be at a disadvantage in fully developing a gay identity. It may be the case that these non-stereotypical gay people do not see themselves as similar to more stereotypical gay people, and may be less likely to see a gay identity as personally relevant; they may also encounter more resistance from the gay community or even from heterosexuals when they do try to express a gay identity. Non-stereotypical gay people may thus be hindered in their ability to express their natural sexuality and feel comfortable with it. These people may be consigned to lives of self-hatred, despair, and sexual and relational dissatisfaction simply because they did not conform to the mainstream stereotype of what a gay person should be like.

This study thus underscores a need for gay role models who are highly visible and accessible and who represent a wide range of possible gay identities. Such readily visible and accessible models of gay people who break gay stereotypes would suggest to non- and low-identified gay people that there are many ways to be gay, and that there are alternatives to stereotype conformity or identity foreclosure. For gay people to have a choice of identity expressions seems preferable to the current state of affairs in which gay people may believe that the expression of a gay identity is narrowly restricted to a certain stereotypical model. Such a choice would allow non-stereotypical gay people alternative means of expressing their identities in ways that are suitable to them, and a wider and richer variety of gay identity expression might help to destigmatize gay people by increasing the apparent heterogeneity of the group (Jenks, 1988; MacDonald and Games, 1974).

Problems of Measurement of Sexual Orientation and Sexual Identity

The present study illustrates a number of problems associated with the independent measurement of sexual orientation and sexual identity. Sexual orientation is not the same construct as sexual identity, a premise following from theory (Brady and Busse, 1994; Cass, 1979; Cass, 1984; Gonsiorek, Sell, and Weinrich, 1995; Troiden, 1993) that is also supported by the results of the present study. These constructs are often confounded in research on gay people (Chung and Katayama, 1996; Shively, Jones, and De Cecco, 1984), but as discussed earlier, it may be desirable to disentangle them and assess their independent contributions to effects under investigation. At a minimum, investigators should specify which construct is relevant to the research at hand and ensure that the specified construct is measured validly and independently of the other (Chung and Katayama, 1996).

Researchers investigating gay and lesbian issues therefore need a reliable, valid, and pragmatically useful measure that assesses sexual orientation and sexual identity distinctly. The present study employed some rudimentary techniques to make such distinct assessments, which included the development of a sexual orientation scale that assessed sexual and romantic thoughts, feelings, and behaviors rather than identity in addition to a separate measure of identity (GIQ) and a measure of deceptive dissociation from a gay identity (the Gay Social Desirability Scale). The relative success of this study in recruiting gay people who were non-identified or low-identified, in isolating a minority of people who were responding deceptively to questions about their sexual identities, and in making a meaningful distinction between heterosexual and non-identified gay people

suggests that this approach to the measurement of sexual orientation and identity is pragmatically useful.

There are some validity concerns regarding the Sexual Orientation Scale. Responses that one has at some time had thoughts or feelings or engaged in behavior that one would label homosexual does not necessarily make one homosexual. However, the Cass and Troiden models of gay identity development specify that such thoughts, feelings, or behaviors are characteristic of a gay person in the earliest identity stages. It is impossible to determine whether such people are truly heterosexuals who have experienced some (possibly normal) homosexual thoughts or feelings or whether they are truly gay people who just have not fully realized that yet. The Cass and Troiden models suggest the latter alternative, although that interpretation is subject to question.

A dichotomous conceptualization of sexual orientation is also problematic. The present study employed such a dichotomization to be consistent with the Cass (1979) and Troiden (1993) models of gay identity development, in which it is implicit that people who have both heterosexual and homosexual thoughts, feelings, or behaviors are "questioning" their sexualities and are thus gay people in the lower stages of identity formation. Cass and Troiden do not seem to allow that such people may truly be able to function heterosexually as well as homosexually and that they need not progress to higher stages of gay identity development to be sexually well adjusted. The present study therefore did not address bisexuality as a sexual orientation, and neither do many studies of gay and lesbian people (Chung and Katayama, 1996). A truly useful measure of sexual orientation should assess degree of bisexuality, however, perhaps by conceptualizing

homosexuality and heterosexuality as independent continua (Chung and Katayama, 1996; Gonsiorek, Sell, and Weinrich, 1995; McConaghy, 1987; Shively and De Cecco, 1977).

Limitations

Interpretations of the findings of the present study with respect to gay men should be made with caution. Gay men did not report greater sex-atypicality with higher levels of gay identity development to the same extent as lesbians, although there may be several reasons for this discrepancy. One such reason may be that the sample of men was smaller than the sample of women, and men were unevenly represented across the sexual-identity groups; only about half as many men as women were categorized as either low- or high-identified gay. These smaller numbers of men in general and the uneven representation of men across the sexual-identity groups would restrict the power of the present study to detect differences among sexual-identity groups in men. It may also be the case that it is more generally socially acceptable—perhaps even desirable—for women to express a degree of masculinity, but that the expression of femininity by men is not well tolerated. If so, it may be that more highly gay-identified men do experience greater sex-atypicality, but they tend not to report their increased femininity on questionnaires. Perhaps greater sex-atypicality is not only domain specific but context specific as well, such that gay-identified men express greater femininity only in nonthreatening, gay-affirming contexts. If this is the case, future research that employs more objective measures of sex-atypicality (such as partner ratings) or that specifies an appropriate context for the self-ratings might detect a stronger relationship for men.

The interpretation that increasing sex-atypicality is indicative of stereotype conformity in gay people must also be made with caution. It is possible that gay people

are not conforming to gay stereotypes but are expressing rejection of rigid sociocultural gender roles. Such rejection of traditional gender roles by gay people might result from expression of protest against heteronormativity or decreasing social pressure to conform to gender roles, or both. From the present study it cannot be determined whether gay people are approaching the sex-atypicality of the gay stereotype or avoiding the sex-typing of traditional gender roles. Future research might clarify this distinction by including other elements of gay stereotypes that are not related to sex-typing. If gay people conform to elements of gay stereotypes that are unrelated to sex-typing, the alternative explanation that gay people are merely avoiding traditional gender roles when becoming more sex-atypical would become less tenable.

The present study employed a correlational design that is not adequate for revealing the directions or the reasons for the relationships found between gay identity development and sex-atypicality. It may be that lesbians with the most fully developed gay identity feel less inhibited about violating gender roles because they feel more secure about their sexuality and need not worry about being perceived as lesbian. It may be that a developed gay identity liberates people to express a natural androgyny that all people possess but that most have been socialized to squelch. Or it may be that sexual orientation is better conceived as a continuum than as a dichotomy, and that women who are the most strongly identified as gay tend to be more clearly sex-atypical in other domains, while those who only have mild gay tendencies may show little or no other sex-atypicality.

An important external validity concern is the representativeness problem that plagues all research on gay people. It is impossible to determine whether all gay people

were adequately represented. There may be a large body of "hidden" gay people who are rarely sampled in studies such as this because they tend not to self-identify as gay under any circumstance. Those gay people who tend to participate in research on sexuality may be qualitatively different from other gay people who do not, and in ways that cannot be predicted. Those who tend to respond may also tend to be at the higher stages of gay identity development, and indeed research on identity development has been limited by difficulties in securing participants who would be categorized at the lower stages. It is thus difficult to generalize to all gay people in the lower stages of gay identity development since, by definition, this is an extremely difficult group to identify at all. This study relied minimally on self-identification in the recruitment of gay people, and it seems to have captured a sufficiently large sample of gay people at the lower levels of gay identity. Thus it seems reasonable to conclude that samples of non- and low-identified gay people in this study were as representative of people in those stages as could practically be attained.

Another external validity concern is the exclusive use of young people as participants. A college-aged sample was desirable for capturing the widest variety of people at different gay identity development stages. Older gay people may tend to be either fully gay-identified or to have foreclosed on their identities, but either way may be less or not at all engaged in the identity development process. College-aged people are at the age when sexual identity questions, sexual experimentation, and identity exploration are common, making this the best age group with which to investigate the process of gay identity development.

Future Directions

Because the present study does not address questions of direction and causation of the relationship between gay identity development and sex-atypicality, an important future project would be a longitudinal study of the gay identity development process. Such a study would ideally follow non-identified gay people as they develop gay identities and would examine whether preexisting sex-atypicality and other variables (such as religiosity, homonegativity, perception of stigma, or social contact with gay people) predict the duration and outcome of that process, and whether sex-atypicality increases over the length of that process. It would also be desirable to include measures that tap elements of gay stereotypes other than sex-atypicality, to include objective as well as subjective measures, and to refine the measures by specifying contexts for the ratings.

Another fruitful future project might be to explore further the definition and measurement of sexual orientation and sexual identity. The attempts made in this study to assess these constructs independently seem to have been met with some success, as the Sexual Orientation Scale and Gay Social Desirability Scale seem to have produced meaningful results. These measures might be further refined and validated, and together with a newly constructed and validated measure of sexual identity might provide an extremely useful tool for future investigators of gay and lesbian issues. The present study thus points to new and exciting directions for further inquiry into issues of sexual orientation and gay identity development.

APPENDIX A

BEM SEX ROLE INVENTORY ITEMS

Instructions to Participants

Below is a list of personality characteristics. Please indicate how well you believe each characteristic describes you by writing in a number from the following scale:

Not at all true of me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Extremely true of me

Masculine Trait Items

Self-reliant	Individualistic	Ambitious	Defends own beliefs
Athletic	Strong personality	Assertive	Makes decisions easily
Forceful	Acts like a leader	Analytical	Has leadership abilities
Independent	Self-sufficient	Aggressive	Willing to take risks
Dominant	Masculine	Competitive	Willing to take a stand

Feminine Trait Items

Yielding	Sympathetic	Sensitive to the needs of others
Cheerful	Loyal	Eager to soothe hurt feelings
Shy	Feminine	Does not use bad language
Affectionate	Understanding	Gullible
Flatterable	Compassionate	Tender
Soft-spoken	Warm	Childlike
Loves children	Gentle	

APPENDIX B

ATTRIBUTE ASSESSMENT OF GENDER STEREOTYPES ITEMS

Role Behavior Subscale

Instructions to Participants

Below is a list of role behaviors. Please indicate how likely it is that each one would apply to you by writing in a number from the following scale:

Not at all likely of me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Extremely likely of me

Masculine Items

Assumes financial obligations	Financial provider	Makes major decisions
Repairs and maintains the car	Is athletic	Head of household
Responsible for household repairs		

Feminine Items

Tends the house	Cooks the meals	Does grocery shopping
Does household chores	Cries on occasion	Does the laundry
Takes care of children		

Physical Characteristics Subscale

Instructions to Participants

Below is a list of physical characteristics. Please indicate how descriptive of you each one is by writing in a number from the following scale:

Not at all descriptive of me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Extremely descriptive of me

Masculine Items

Tall	Muscular	Strong
Broad-shouldered	Big hands	Deep voice

Feminine Items

Soft spoken	Graceful	Soft
Wears jewelry	Fashionable	Small-boned
Delicate	Dainty	

Occupational Suitability Subscale

Instructions to Participants

Below is a list of occupations. Please indicate how suitable you would be for each occupation by writing in a number from the following scale:

I am not at all suited for this occupation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	I am extremely suited for this occupation

Masculine Items

Construction worker	Insurance agent	Truck driver
Telephone installer	Machinist	Mail carrier
Auto mechanic	Engineer	Firefighter
Police officer		

Feminine Items

Grade school teacher	Nurse's aide	Librarian
Telephone operator	Secretary	Dressmaker
Registered nurse	Bank teller	Hairdresser

APPENDIX C

GAY IDENTITY QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS

Instructions to Participants

Following is a list of statements about your sexual beliefs. Please read each statement carefully and then decide whether you feel the statement is true or false for you at this point in time.

Important notes:

Please judge each statement as a whole, and decide whether the entire statement as a whole is true or false for you. Do not just focus on part of the statement. If one part is true but another part is false, the whole statement would be false.

Consider each statement "as is," word for word, without stretching its meaning or searching for different interpretations.

Please keep in mind that you are deciding whether the statements are true or false for you at this point in time.

Almost all people will find that only a few of these statements are true for them. We realize that you will probably find yourself marking a lot of them false. We ask that you go through and respond to all of the statements, looking carefully for the certain few statements that will be true for you.

Please read and think about each statement below, and indicate whether each one is true or false for you by writing in a number from the following scale:

Always false	Usually false	Usually true	Always true
1	2	3	4

Stage 1 (Identity Confusion) Items

I doubt that I am homosexual, but I am still confused about who I am sexually.
I don't act like most homosexuals do, so I doubt that I'm homosexual.
I don't think that I'm homosexual.
The topic of homosexuality does not relate to me personally.
I have homosexual thoughts and feelings, but I doubt that I am homosexual.
I probably am heterosexual or non-sexual.
I cannot imagine sharing my homosexual feelings with anyone.

Stage 2 (Identity Comparison) Items

I am probably sexually attracted to men and women equally.

I have disclosed to one or two people (very few) that I have homosexual feelings, although I'm not sure that I am homosexual.

I don't feel that I'm heterosexual or homosexual.

I don't want people to know that I may be homosexual, although I'm not sure if I'm homosexual or not.

I may be homosexual and I am upset at the thought of it.

I dread having to deal with the fact that I may be homosexual.

I am experimenting with my same sex, because I don't know what my sexual preference is.

Stage 3 (Identity Tolerance) Items

I'm probably homosexual, even though I maintain a heterosexual image in both my personal and public life.

I don't mind if homosexuals know that I have homosexual thoughts and feelings, but I don't want others to know.

More than likely I'm homosexual, although I'm not positive about it yet.

I'm probably homosexual, but I'm not sure yet.

Getting in touch with homosexuals is something I feel I need to do, even though I'm not sure I want to.

I feel accepted by homosexual friends and acquaintances, even though I'm not sure I'm homosexual.

I tolerate rather than accept my homosexual thoughts and feelings.

Stage 4 (Identity Acceptance) Items

I live a homosexual lifestyle at home, while at work/school I do not want others to know about my lifestyle.

My homosexuality is a valid private identity that I do not want made public.

I do not want most heterosexuals to know that I am definitely homosexual.

I am definitely homosexual, but I do not share that knowledge with most people.

I have not told most of the people at work that I am definitely homosexual.

I accept but would not say that I am proud of the fact that I am definitely homosexual.

Even though I am definitely homosexual, I have not told my family.

Stage 5 (Identity Pride) Items

I have little desire to be around most heterosexuals.

I am very proud to be gay and I make it known to everyone around me.

I don't have much contact with heterosexuals and I can't say that I miss it.

I frequently confront people about their irrational, homophobic feelings (fear of homosexuality).

I frequently express to others my anger over heterosexuals' oppression of me and other gay people.

Most heterosexuals are not credible sources of help for me.

I am not about to stay hidden as gay for anyone.

Stage 6 (Identity Synthesis) Items

I generally feel comfortable being the only gay person in a group of heterosexuals.

I am not as angry about society's treatment of gays because even though I've told everyone about my gayness, they have responded well.

I am openly gay and fully integrated into heterosexual society.

I am proud and open with everyone about being gay, but it isn't the major focus of my life.

I am openly gay around both gay people and heterosexual people, and I don't feel alienated from heterosexual society.

My heterosexual friends, family, and associates think of me as a person who happens to be gay, rather than as a gay person.

I am openly gay with everyone, but it doesn't make me feel all that different from heterosexuals.

APPENDIX D

GAY SOCIAL DESIRABILITY SCALE ITEMS

Instructions to participants

The Gay Social Desirability Scale items were interspersed with items from the Gay Identity Questionnaire, and therefore the instructions to participants were the same as for that measure. See Appendix C.

Response Scale

Always false	Usually false	Usually true	Always true
1	2	3	4

Scale Items

At times I have admired or bonded with certain people of my sex. *
I never feel affection for people of my sex.
I am unable to judge whether another person of my sex is attractive.
I cannot imagine myself having gay or lesbian friends or acquaintances.
I can appreciate the work of some gay entertainers. *
I have warm feelings for some of my same-sex friends. *
At times I have identified with certain people of the opposite sex. *
I can appreciate physical attractiveness in other people of my sex.

* Reverse-coded.

APPENDIX E

SEXUAL ORIENTATION SCALE ITEMS

Instructions to participants

The Sexual Orientation Scale items were interspersed with items from the Gay Identity Questionnaire, and therefore the instructions to participants were the same as for that measure. See Appendix C.

Response Scale

Always false	Usually false	Usually true	Always true
1	2	3	4

Items Common to Both Sexes

I have some feelings that I would label as homosexual.
I feel completely secure and confident about my heterosexuality. *
I have some thoughts that I would label as homosexual.
I engage in some sexual behaviors that I would label as homosexual.

Items Scored Only for Men (Women)

There are times when I feel a romantic interest in certain men (women).
At times I feel sexually aroused by attractive men (women).
I have enjoyed (or fantasized about) sexual encounters with men (women).

* Reverse-coded.

APPENDIX F

INSTRUCTIONS DEFINING A "TYPICAL" SAME-SEX GAY TARGET

A "typical" or "average" gay man[3] refers to the general image that naturally comes to your mind when someone mentions a "gay man" to you, and any automatic assumptions you might tend to make about "gay men" in general.

Everybody naturally makes some assumptions and generalizations about different groups of people, and we are interested in your own automatic, personal notion of gay men.

Please take a moment to think about your idea of a "typical" or "average" gay man. Please keep this image of a "typical" gay man in mind as you complete the rest of this section.

[3] These instructions appeared on questionnaires mailed to men. Questionnaires mailed to women contained identical instructions, except that the words *gay woman* were substituted for *gay man*.

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